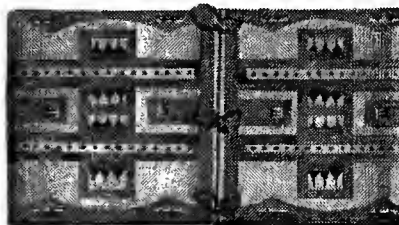


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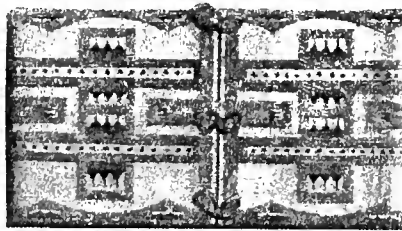
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THE INFLUENCE OF THE IROQUOIS

ON THE

HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE WYOMING
VALLEY, PENNSYLVANIA,

AND THE ADJACENT REGION

BY

ARTHUR C. PARKER,
Archaeologist.

Read before the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society,
Wilkes-Barre, Pa., December 10, 1909.

(Reprinted from Volume XI, Proceedings of the Society.)

WILKES-BARRÉ, PA.

1911.

MUSEUM OF AMERICAN INDIAN



Council Fire Talks About Indians

BY AN INDIAN

"The truth of history, first hand, arrow straight, keen edged, direct from the red man's side of the firing line. It's square deal history without malice."



ARTHUR C. PARKER
GAWASO-WANNEH
OF THE BEAR CLAN, SENECA

AUTHOR LECTURER JOURNALIST
ETHNOLOGIST ARCHAEOLOGIST

"There are some tragic tales, to be sure, but blood and humor drip together in a romance that is true history,—and no fog hangs over."

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THE SUBJECT.....INDIANS

The romantic story of the American Indian is one that never grows old. It vibrates with life interest from whatever side you may touch it. But did you ever stop to think that the history of the Indian of America had been written by his enemies,—the pale invaders of his country?

No one can tell the life story of the red race better than the red man himself. Mr. Arthur C. Parker, the author of this series of lectures,—Council Fire Talks on Indians,—is a Seneca-Iroquois Indian and the descendent of a famous line of Iroquois sachems. When he tells the tragic story of his race he delivers it to you first hand, keen edged and arrow straight from the red man's side of the firing line. When you have heard one of his Council Fire Talks you will know Indians as you have never known them before.

SOME EVIDENCE.....WHAT THE TALKS ARE

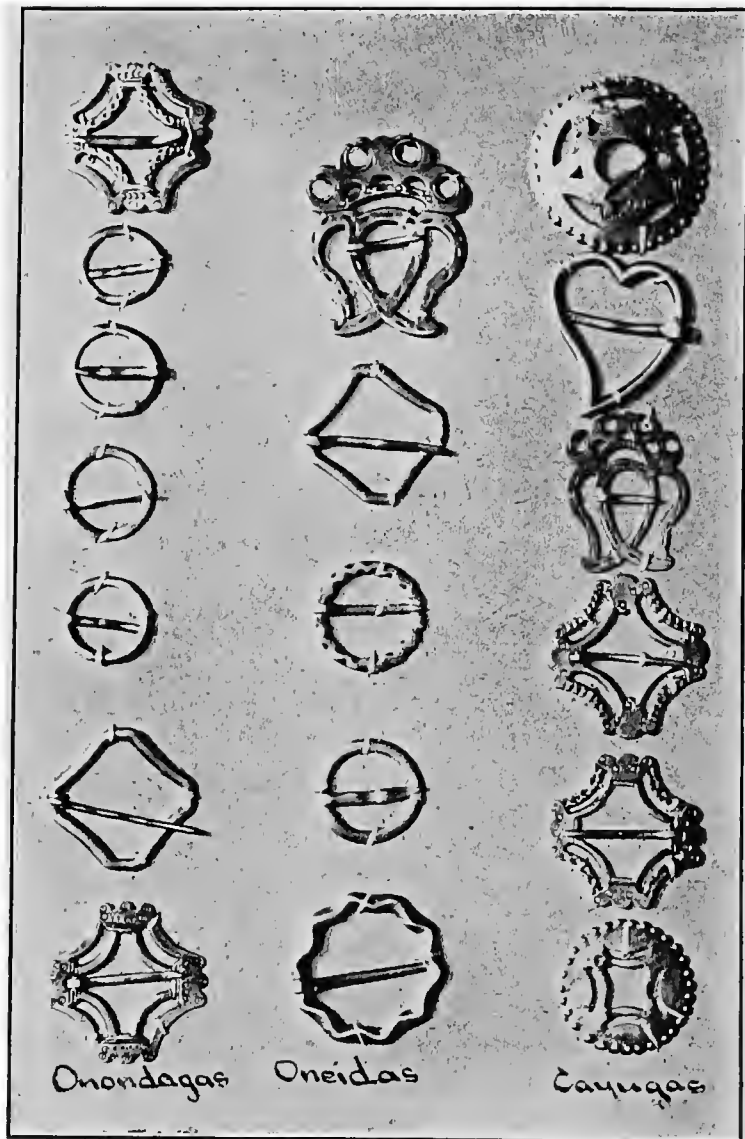
The best evidence of the popularity of Mr. Parker's Council Fire Talks is the uniform testimony of the press. Wherever one of his talks is given the newspapers publish extended accounts,—not mere paragraph squibs, but one, two, three, five and even eight column reviews.

Each talk has live news interest, the subject matter, the pictures and method of treatment are all new, novel, thrilling. On the other hand, the talks are scientific, historically accurate and present a side of history strange to those unacquainted with original documents and new to those who are not Indians themselves.

The American who loves a square deal, the truth of history and who approves of a case fairly heard will welcome one of these fireside council talks. The talks contain some tragic tales, to be sure, but both blood and humor drip together in the romance and there is no fog.

THE ILLUSTRATIONS...UNIQUE PICTURES

The stereopticon views with which the Council Fire Talks are illustrated are of the best grade and colored as in nature. Most of them are from actual photographs made by Mr. Parker among his people.



Silver brooches from the Ethnological Collection of this Society.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE IROQUOIS ON THE HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE WYOMING VALLEY AND THE ADJACENT REGION.

BY ARTHUR C. PARKER.

Archæologist of the New York State Museum.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY DEC. 10, 1909.

(LANING HISTORICAL FUND.)

A year ago this winter, bound on an official errand for the New York State Museum, I boarded an express train at Albany, the capital city of New York, and sped westward at a mile a minute rate through a thriving region of alternating town and country to the city of Syracuse. Arriving at that busy central city, I hired a horse and galloped off to the south over a snow covered road. After six or seven miles of brisk riding, in a none too kind wind, I found myself in a totally different country. Not that the snow, or rocks, or trees were different, or the wind, or roads, or fences were different. It was not that—the country itself was different. The men and women whom I passed were dressed just the same as men and women in any rural district, and even the children enjoyed their sleds and laughingly threw snow balls, as do children everywhere in our eastern States, but even so these people were different. Beneath their coats beat hearts that were stirred with emotions and recollections unknown to the people in the cities and rural places through which I had just passed. They were of another race and of another nation. The country in which I found myself had belonged to these people ages before the white invasion, ages before the landing of the pilgrim fathers or the voyages of Columbus and the Cabots. No aliens were the people I saw, nor were their ancestors ever so, as yours were, for they were Indians,—Onondagas, and only half a mile away

was the capitol of the Iroquois League, the capitol of an empire which once dictated the policy of tribes and nations. I jogged on thoughtfully and passed the long house building of the Onondaga Nation, from whose chimney poured the smoke of the unextinguished council fire. Turning down the bend of the road, I reined my horse in front of a neat white farm house, dismounted and rapped on the door. A white haired man flung it open and exclaimed: "Gawasow'wanneh!" "Nia'we'ska no Sa'hawhe!" I replied and entered. I was welcomed into the home of the executive officer of the League of the Iroquois, the president of a nation older than the United States, and older than many an European State as modernly constituted. The hand that clasped mine in friendly greeting and the voice that spoke the welcome were those of a man of striking appearance, neatly dressed in modern clothing, but whose dark, bronzed skin and flashing black eyes told of his noble descent, whose ancestors had been the lords of all the continent east of the Mississippi, told of an Indian whose nation, though shrunken, had survived the onslaughts of four mighty nations for a period of three centuries. Few nations could have so suffered and lived! Few nations could have so resisted and not have become absorbed, exterminated or demoralized and scattered to lose identity. Little wonder, then, that this simple man was proud; no wonder, though as I saw him an hour later clad in blue jeans, his bearing was that of a knight that knew the dignity of honest toil. I transacted my business with him, and after a splendid dinner, prepared by his good wife, I bade the Chief adieu.

A few hours later I found myself in the city of Buffalo, and after an hour's run over the Erie Railroad, I got out at a small country station that lay on the frontier of another country,—my country, the country of the Seneca Nation, though the unthoughtful often call it a reservation. Here for a week I passed my time with two classes of Indians,—Christians and Adis'towea'no', though white men call the

latter pagans. Representatives of both classes entertained me. I spoke in the Christian church and I spoke in the pagan temple, yet I do not think this inconsistent, for I believe in all the good in the ancient teachings of Dagoniwida and of Ganiodaio, just as I believe in all the good in the teachings of the white man's belief. The time was that of the mid-winter thanksgiving, when all the ancient practices of my nation were enacted. I sang the old songs and I danced the old dances of the forest people, because my heart was glad and full of thanksgiving to the Creator who had so richly endowed me and my nation with good gifts,—and if this is paganism it is nevertheless good religion. This type of a pagan is no ingrate at least, and thinks more of thanking and of doing than of asking. However, lest I make you all pagans by telling of the Indian's religion, I refrain, for be it known that no Indian ever created or participated in a religious war. After the Long House ceremonies one evening I received a message. A mouth whispered a word in my ear and I knew it the name of a secret. It was the summons to a meeting in the darkness where the Little Water Company gathered. All night, where neither moon nor star could be seen, the drama of the Kind Hunter was enacted, and when gray dawn came, came with it the feast of the boars head and the distribution of the feast.

I continued my travels even to a little nook in Warren county, Pennsylvania, and in the out of the way places which I knew I found tribes and nations still living, though hard pressed by white men, living outwardly clothed and domiciled as white men, but at heart red men still with pride of ancestry, love of ancient ritual and affection for the mother tongue. Yet where are the other tribes and nations that lived in the east, or which have even a few representatives not under the wing of the wounded, but yet living League?

When I returned to Albany a few days later, I carried with me a host of thoughts, and some of them are these: The League of the Five Nations had been an empire long

before the Empire State as such existed. That league, to metaphorically describe its peaceful purpose, called itself the "Great Peace," and described its dominion as "the Long House." Its western door was to open out on the Genesee River, and the Senecas were to dwell there and guard that door against the invasion of the treacherous foe to the west. The Onondagas were to keep the council fire and guard the place of national assembly. The Mohawks at the east were to guard the eastern door and collect the tribute from the tribes and nations to the south and east. In this great Long House, dedicated to peace and fraternity, the brother nations, the Mohawk, the Oneida, the Onondaga, the Cayuga and the Seneca were to dwell in peace and harmony. The Long House Confederacy has been the result of Dekanah-widéh's untiring labor and its laws had been formulated by Hiawatha. Its aim was to prevent international and inter-tribal warfare and bring about a beneficent reign of peace. It desired all the nations of the continent to unite with it and live under its guidance. Those nations which were jealous of its power or hostile to its purposes were warned and then destroyed, the broken remnants of the resisting tribes gathered into small bands and scattered among the Iroquois villages. The Iroquois languages were taught, and as the children of the captives forgot their fathers' tongue, the captives were absorbed to forget their ancestry. Just as many tribes and nations to-day unite here under one government to forget, as time goes by, the ties on the other side of the oceans, so the captives of the Iroquois became absorbed to give new blood and vigor to the Confederacy. The truth of history is this, and I know of no other writer who has thus put it: The Iroquois, as a people, were not a race or stock, they were a system, a composite of all the finest tribes and finest individuals of the Indians of eastern North America. The fittest of the Sioux, the Muskogean, Huronian and Algonquin stock, with their numerous sub-tribes, absorbed by the original Iroquois unit, coalesced into a composite Indian nation, the Iroquois,—a people whose racial

vitality as a result of their system, has no parallel in history. They were the fittest and the offspring of the fittest, and the fittest once adopted were treated as the fittest. The loyalty of the adopted tribes to the Iroquois, though once bitter enemies, is one of the anomalies of ethnology. The Iroquois system and Iroquois law swept into the Iroquois Nation irresistably thousands of hostile men and women who once in the system became its enthusiastic champions, and neither history or tradition mention a traitor among them.

In the history of the Iroquois League there came an epoch. The white invaders came, came as supplicants humbly asking favors, and their demeanor was not that of a dominant people. When crossed in their wishes some of the invaders made war and some of these wars were fatal to the pale invaders. The French, under Champlain, in 1609, fired a volley of bullets at Ticonderoga and the Mohawk-Iroquois tasted the lead. The French repented in bitter defeats for more than a hundred years those few ounces of lead, for they came back a thousand fold and French dreams of colonization were crushed, and French power in America became weak and weaker, until it expired totally. Becoming the allies of the English, the Iroquois adhered staunchly to their compacts and fought in the front line of the fight which preserved for an English speaking people the coast and middle Atlantic region, to say nothing of the territory which grew from it. Sir William Johnson, to whom Americans owe much,—and have forgotten the debt, said: "The Iroquois are the tower and bulwark of defense between us and the French." Nor was Sir William ever slow to acknowledge what the Iroquois had done for England.

In their heroic effort to secure peace, even at the price of war, the Iroquois conquered nearly all the Indian nations north of the Gulf States and east of the Mississippi River and held as their dominion a territory greater in extent than the Roman Emperors ever boasted. Yet these people have been called savages. In the culture scale this is true, but

when compared with people calling themselves civilized the Iroquois were not savages. Civilized men of the colonial period were guilty of crimes in their warfare far more revolting than the Iroquois ever perpetrated. The inflamed white man burst his thin veneer of civilization and became the savage Gaul or Saxon all too easily to be a just judge of the Indian. The story has only half been told, and that half is the white man's, which for the most part has described the patriotic desperate struggle of the natives of America as savagery, while the same accounts praise the white man's brutal, vengeful depredations and heartless onslaughts as punitive measures necessary for the protection of the country. Indian victories were called massacres, white men's massacres were glorious victories,—battles for freedom, and we now sing: "My Country, 'Tis of Thee!" And talking about the country, few have ever asked where they got it and how.

In November of this year (1909), in company with Mr. Christopher Wren, your Curator of Archaeology and Oscar J. Harvey, Esq., members of the Society, I wandered over the battlefield of Wyoming. The place and its environs was of intense interest to me, for my own ancestors had poured down through the cut in the mountain and fallen upon the settlement at Wyoming. The so-called massacre, however, as Mr. Harvey has discovered from an examination of original documents in the British Colonial office, was a carefully planned battle, and in all of its essential details laid out at Montreal two years before.

One of the interesting facts over which historians have long disputed, is whether Capt. Joseph Brant led the Indians in this raid. The Indians have always denied this, as have several historians, notably Stone. Brant's son, John, went to England to protest against the statement that his father had participated in the battle and strongly objected to his father being described as the "monster Brant". O. J. Harvey, Esq., and Rev. Horace E. Hayden have recently

shown by documentary evidence that Brant had no active part in the battle.

Brant was not a monster, although his superior officer, Walter Butler, was unquestionably one, and one whom Brant, the Indian, despised. J. Max Reid, the historian of the Mohawk Valley, in reviewing the lives of Brant and Butler, says: "I have searched in vain for a single kindly act or generous impulse of Captain Butler and his infamous son, Walter N. When their acts are compared with those of Brant's, their deeds are the deeds of savages and Brant's those of a noble, generous man."*

Walter Butler's savagery was too ferocious for even savages to endure. He was despised and hunted by the Oneidas, loyal to the patriotic cause, and was indeed shot by an Oneida on the banks of Oneida Creek fifteen miles above Herkimer. As the Indian raised his tomahawk to dispatch him he begged for mercy, like the coward that he was, but nevertheless lost his scalp, not, however, until the loyal Oneida had shouted "Remember Cherry Valley!"

As I wandered over the scenes of the Wyoming battlefield I asked Mr. Harvey to point out the notch in the hills and to show me the swamp where the young Seneca warriors had concealed themselves. Mr. Wren and myself, following his lead, went with him to these spots, and together we talked of how his ancestors suffered. The day was one of those foggy, smoky days of early November, but I ventured to make a photograph of the mountain notch, with the swamp in the foreground. The traditions of my Seneca ancestors would make me a descendant of one of the Seneca leaders of the attacking Indians, and, indeed, in the old homestead on the Cattaraugus reservation to-day hangs the knife which he carried, and, perhaps, buried deep in many a patriot's breast.

It was a great pleasure to walk over the historic ground which for so long had been the theatre where tragedies of

*Reid, J. Max, *The Mohawk Valley*, p. 227, Putnam's, 1901.

tribes and nations had been enacted. Several historians have called the Wyoming Valley the Southern Door of the Iroquois Long House. The simile sounds well, but as facts stand the Iroquois never had a side door. The Wyoming Valley was the south lawn, the game preserve and asylum for dependent tribes. The Iroquois regarded this valley as their own by right of conquest, not by conquest sought as such, but one which resulted from the repeated and extended wars of the Susquehannock tribes and their refusal to conform to the plans of the Iroquois League. The Susquehannocks, although of the same original stock, had been the bitter enemies of the Iroquois, perhaps since the Mohawks came south from the Laurentian basin,—but I am getting ahead of my story, since I prefer to deal with it from an anthropological rather than an historical view point, for the Wyoming Valley is the center of more converging lines than the one marked Iroquois or colonial history, and the circle inscribed from this center is one of wide influence in American ethnology as it is also in American history.

PRIMITIVE CULTURES OF THE WYOMING VALLEY.

There are few spots in our country more romantic than the Wyoming Valley, and, indeed, there are few regions where local history has been preserved with more zealous care. Whether this is due to the enchantment of its romantic history or to the appreciation of its inhabitants does not concern us immediately. We are more interested in the fact that the events which transpired in the wild, raw days of the pioneer have been well recorded, and that we of to-day may know much of the historic yesterday. We know something but not all, and modern science is content with nothing short of all.

The word recorded facts of the events which transpired in a region such as this, however extensive these records may be, form only a small portion of the history of that region. Fortunately for us we have discovered other records which

were made ages before white men trod this soil, and even ages before Indians or any man walked over the great trails made by the traveling herds of gigantic mammals and gazed upon the wide spreading plains which we call Wyoming.

The earliest records are those of nature herself, the geologic, and these have been interpreted well. Later came perchance preglacial man, whose relics have been found in the Delaware Valley in numbers. Then came the great ice sheet to blast and uproot the forests, to drive men and beasts far to the south and to bury the land under a mile of ice. When the gigantic forces which precipitated the ice age had expended themselves and the sun had reduced ice to water that gushed in might torrents that seamed and furrowed the land into new valleys, and when the waters had subsided and plants and animals flourished man came again, but how long he waited or what stock he represented we know not. We must find the record if we can. This is one of our problems.

This region, as does every region, to the anthropologist, presents its own peculiar problems, and every region bears its own particular relation to the great problems of anthropology. Until these problems are recognized and until local culture variations are known or sought, there can be no true progress in the particular branch of science which we wish to elucidate.

The problems of anthropology carry us deep into the realms of many things. We deal with life and its origin, man and his origin, and mind and its manifestations. The anthropologist seeks an explanation of how a given race of men came upon a continent, when they crystalized into a race or races, what elements modified them, what they did and made, what they believed and said, and how their thoughts and artifacts compare with those of other races of a given culture stage, for strangely, as first viewed, peoples widely separated by time and space, living in a given culture stage, produced similar things and thought similar thoughts.

The anthropologist, therefore, seeks to know and measure the monitions of the cosmic mind that had expressed itself in all men of all times. The child of the ancient caves of Belgium, of the mountains of Ur, of Chaldea, of the shadows of Cheops, of the cromlechs of ancient Briton land, of the gilded temples of the Incas, of the ingloos of the ice clad Arctics, of the leaf huts in the tropics, or of the manger in Bethlehem, all gave the same low cry and sought a mother's breast. The wild, untaught man of the Himalayas, of the jungles of the Gangees, of the rock lands of north Scotland, of the valley of France's Somme, or of the coal hills of the Wyoming Valley, all sought out rude stones and chipped them into knives and spear heads, that, as we gather them now, resemble each other so closely in many ways that save for the material one can scarcely tell from whence they came. Like the cry of the babe, they tell of the first feeble efforts of the infant race to follow the promptings of the cosmic mind to better things. In the struggle to enlightenment some men have gone with greater speed but the same path has been followed. This is the truth which anthropology teaches, but let no man suppose that because one race of men is in the lead that its endurance is greatest, for many in the past have fallen by the wayside while slower minds and feet have plodded on in advance. Speed is not the test,—well balanced growth and conserved energy is.

In America our problem is to tell how man first came here, whether he is of a homogeneous race, and, if not, what racial elements have modified him; how the great linguistic stock originated; how they divided, and what regions they successively occupied. In a given area we have specific problems. We seek to know what tribes and stocks occupied the area, from whence they came and whither they went; what each stock made and how and for what purpose their implements were made and used. We ask what they ate; what grains they cultivated; how and who they fought; how they governed themselves; how women were regarded in

the tribal economy; what their religion and ceremonies were; what their mortuary customs were, and the facts of domestic life, and what they wore. All these facts and more are necessary to determine the degree of culture, or its peculiar form, and unless this scheme is pursued in studying the archeology and ethnology of a people, or a region, no perfect scientific result can be attained.

To those unacquainted with the methods of anthropological research it may seem an impossible thing to know much or even anything concerning the prehistory of a region. To these we answer, that the earth about us contains many relics of the men who lived before us, and many museums, such as this, have collected these relics in order that they may be available for interpretation. As elsewhere I have explained, to those who are wont to rely upon the word written records of history, it may not at first clearly appear how much may be learned from such relics, or how such things can have the import which the archeologist claims. Let it first be realized that early man has left upon the surface of the earth traces of himself by which his prehistory may be materialized far more accurately than it might ever have been from a word written document. We have become so accustomed to rely upon the testimony of word-made records, that we lose sight of the fact that words are but thought symbols, ideophones and ideographs, and that written records may be erroneous and incomplete, while material objects may convey clearer meanings by which a much more accurate knowledge may be gained. We seek to know the man of prehistoric times, yet that man has left us few written documents by which we may read in words his thoughts and learn of his activities. He has done better and we may know him notwithstanding. He has left pencilings upon the surface of the earth which he trod, which neither rains, nor floods, nor the ravages of time have erased save in spots, as a stray raindrop might expunge a letter from a slate and yet leave the word still readable.*

*Parker, A. C. Erie Indian Village. Bull, 117, N. Y. State Museum.

INDIAN TRIBES AFFECTING THE PRIMITIVE CULTURE OF THE
WYOMING VALLEY.

There are few regions in the United States where the archeologist may expect to find a greater variety of relics of so many diversified cultures than are found here.* Before entering too far, however, into a discussion of the aboriginal occupation of this region, it may be well to classify the various bands of people whom we shall mention. This is necessary, since not only are there variations in stocks but also differences in divisions of stocks.

The Huron-Iroquois family embraced the various Huron tribes, the divisions of the Cherokee, the bands of Tuscarora, the Susquehannock, and Andaste tribes (afterward called Mingos and Conestogas), the Neutral, the Erie, the Wennroh, the Seneca, and the other four Iroquois tribes, the Cayuga, the Onondaga, the Oneida and the Mohawk. The Seneca and Eries, and, perhaps, some smaller divisions, were very likely the Massawomecks whom Captain John Smith met. It is a well known fact to ethnologists that the Senecas differed more than any other tribe from the remainder of the confederated Iroquois and never were in complete harmony with them.

The great Algonquin stock covered a wide stretch of territory and embraced a large number of tribes. Those which inhabited this region or affected its culture were the Delawares or Lenni Lenapi with their several sub-tribes, the principal ones being the Munsee, the Unami, and the Unlachtigo. Other Algonquins were the Nanticoke, the Conoy, the Shawnee, and the Mahikan. Each of these divisions were divided into still smaller bands.

Two other linguistic stocks which influenced this area were the Muskhogean and the Siouan. The representatives of the latter are the Catawba or Tuteli and of the former the

*Compare Dr. F. C. Johnson's article on "Count Zinzendorf and the Moravian and Indian Occupation of the Wyoming Valley." Proceedings W. H. and G. Soc., Vol. VIII, pp. 119-182.

Chickasaw. The Catawba were the most important branch of the eastern Sioux. They were first mentioned by Vanderder in 1579. He called them Isse, a name derived from the Catawba, *iswa*, meaning river. The Chickasaw belong to the same stock as the Choctaw, Creek and Seminole. The Chickasaw practised head flattening.

These stocks and tribes have been enumerated not only to classify them but to emphasize that the territory occupied by these peoples was of vast expanse, reaching from the Atlantic coast to the Rocky Mountains, and from the Laurentian basin to the Gulf of Mexico. A knowledge of all these things is necessary in order to appreciate the factors which influenced the customs and art of the people who lived here. With this knowledge at hand we are prepared to examine the sites of former Indian occupations and the relics of those occupations.

The earliest known tribes inhabiting this valley, as is well known, were the Susquehannocks. The name Susquehannock, however, is a generic term and includes without doubt several tribes of Iroquoian stock, notably the Andastes. These people at the time they were first visited by Captain John Smith, had an alliance with the Algonquins on the east shores of the Chesapeake but were enemies of those on the west side. The Iroquois of the north had warred upon the Susquehannocks for many years and brought about their downfall in 1675. In accord with their custom the Iroquois denationalized them. According to Colden they were settled among the Oneidas and when completely *Iroquoised* were sent back to the town of Conestoga. It will be perceived that the words *Conestoga* and *Andaste* are both derivatives of a single word, *Kanastoge*, meaning place of the sunken pole. At the town to which the dwindled band was sent they wasted gradually until they were but a score.

In 1763 this handful of a once mighty nation was destroyed. A band of white men, known as the Paxtang Boys, murdered them, wantonly, the poor Conestogas being a

peaceful, unresisting band.* It must not be thought, however, that the blood of the Conestogas or the Susquehannocks is entirely blotted out. It still flows in the veins of many an Oneida in Wisconsin, Ontario and New York. The tribe of Susquehannock, or Conestoga, whichever you may chose to call it, alone is extinct and not the blood.

In the "Character of the Province of Maryland", by George Alsop, the Susquehannocks are described in the following words:

"They are a people looked upon by the Christian inhabitants as the most noble and heroic nation of Indians that dwell upon the confines of America."

Such were the people conquered by the Iroquois, and it cannot be denied that those who were absorbed must have added a valuable element to the conquering race. Every writer speaks of these Indians in the most glowing terms. The description which Captain John Smith has left us is a most valuable one not only from the standpoint of history but also of ethnology. He remarks in his "General History of Virginia":*

"Such great and well proportioned men are seldom seen, for they seemed like giants to the English, yea and to the neighbours, yet seem of a simple and honest disposition, with much adoe restrained from adoring us as Gods. These are the strangest people of all these countries both in language and attire; for their language it may well become their proportions, sounding from them as a voyce in a vault. Their attire is the skinnes of beares and wolves, some have cossacks made of beares heads and skinnes that a man's head goes through the skinnes neck, and the eares of the beare fastened to his shoulders, the nose and teeth hanging downe his breast, another beares face split behind him, and at the end of the nose hung a pawe, the halfe sleeves coming

*Some authorities dispute that the Conestogas were always a well behaved band of people.

*Smith, John. General History of Virginia. Chapter VI.

to the elbowes were the neckes of beares, and their arms through the mouth with pawes hanging at their noses. One had the head of a wolfe hanging in a chain for a jewell, his tobacco pipe, three quarters of a yard long, prettily carved with a bird, a deare or some such devise at the great end, sufficient to beat out ones braines: with bowes, arrowes, and clubs, suitable to their greatness. These are scarce known to Powhatan. They can make 600 able men and are pallisadoed in their townes to defend them from the Massawomekes, their mortall enemies. Five of their chiefs Werowanace came aboard vs and crossed the bay in their barge. The picture of the greatest of them is signified in the mappe. The calfe of whose leg was three quarters of a yard about, and all the rest of his limbes so answerable to that proportion that he seemed the goodliest man we had ever beheld. His hayre, the one side was long, the other shore close with a ridge over his crown like a cocks comb. His arrowes were five quarters long, headed with splinters of white christall-like stone, in forme of a heart, an inch broad, and an inch and a halfe more long. These he wore in a woolues skinne at his backs for his quiver, his bow in one hand and his clubbe in the other, as is described."

The descriptions of the bear and wolf skin robes tally with the remnants of such things which I have found in Erie graves in western New York. The carved pipes which Smith described are frequently found in the Iroquoian regions and especially in the older sites, both on the surface and in graves. These, of course, are of stone. The Cherokee, a related people, also made effigy pipes, but none of these should be confused with the effigy pipes of the mound builder culture, which are of another type. The name Werowanace, mentioned by Smith as the title of the Chiefs, is significant, for it is an Iroquoian word and similar in primitive derivation to the Seneca *Hasanowannace*, meaning *a name exalted*.

The Susquehannocks held this region for a longer period

than any known tribe, but they had not always held it. At various times after their conquest their ancient territory was occupied by the Delaware, the Monsey, the Swanee, the Nanticoke, the Mehogan, the Wanamense, the Chickasaw and the Tutelo. All these bands were placed here as denationalized tribes and vassals of the Iroquois.

It seems most improbable that these peoples, coming from so many widely separated points, should not have brought with them their own peculiar arts and forms of decoration. It was for this reason that I stated that relics of several diverse cultures should be found here. The bundle burials of the Nanticokes should be found if they continued their customs after their arrival here. The flattened heads of the Chickasaws should be found with relics showing Muskhogean influence. Indeed, these skulls have been found near Plainsville. The peculiar forms of Tuteli culture should be found where they once lived and the Algonquian pottery and other artifacts of the Delaware and Minsis should be brought to light.

It would be a most interesting work to chart all the known sites of former Indian occupancy and to endeavor to name the occupying tribe and give the name of the village itself. No doubt many sites would be encountered to which no name could be given nor even the name of the tribe that held it given. The sites of unknown peoples, however, should prove a most interesting study and afford an interesting basis of comparison.

The culture history of the Susquehannock-Iroquois and their relation to cognate tribes has never been fully studied and there never seems to have been a systematic attempt to excavate known Susquehannock sites with the purpose of discovering the material facts of that culture. There are several interesting problems to be solved and a host of material to be collected. This must be done now or it can never be done. Sites are constantly being covered with the alluvium from floods or with the refuse of commerce.

Towns and cities, railroad cuts and gradings cover and destroy these priceless bits of pre-history, obliterating knowledge for all time. Our descendants will cry shame and blame us for our heedless neglect, and they will have just cause for complaint. A museum like this can never be too busy, but it cannot get busy without money. The money reason is the one which ties the hands of most historical societies and compels them to see the treasures of time lost forever. I have thus digressed to say and to emphasize that the peculiar archeologic duty which falls upon this Society is to solve the problem of the Susquehannocks so far as they within your province lie. To the splendid beginning which has been made in the way of research and collecting let there be a strong following.

ABORIGINAL ARTIFACTS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE WYOMING
HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY SHOWING
IROQUOIAN INFLUENCE.

Among the various interesting archeological specimens found in this general region and now in the collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, similar to those of Iroquoian origin in New York State are celts and adzes, chipped stone arrow points and knives, stone hammers, net sinkers, pottery vessels, shell runtees, tortoise rattles, a bone comb fragment, a brass or copper spiral. There are also other objects of exceptional interest which will be mentioned later in this paper. A preliminary study of these objects was made some weeks ago through the courtesy of your Corresponding Secretary.

Celts. The ungrooved axes and adzes, or celts as they are usually called, found in the Iroquoian regions of New York are of various sizes and types. Some are only an inch and a half long and others reach nine or ten inches or more. There are several interesting forms in the collections of this Society which while rare here are fairly common in some parts of New York. Among these is the flat water-washed pebble

fashioned by nature so that it needs only the work of grinding an edge to complete it as a chisel or small celt. This class of edge implements consists of two classes, that just described and which is well proportioned as a small celt, and the long slivers of shale sharpened on one end. There are several of these in the Wren collection. This latter type I have found only on sites occupied by the Eries. They have been found by others elsewhere, but not commonly.

Another type common in central New York, especially in the Seneca country, is the adz form; that is a celt having one side flat and the other beveled in flat planes. There is one specimen of this form in the Wren collection and several in the general collection. The Wren specimen was found at the mouth of the Susquehanna. In New York celts of this type range from specimens having well defined beveled sides with flat planes to high rounded specimens having no flat planes whatever. Like many primitive implements the forms, pronounced as they may be, grade almost imperceptibly into one another.

The celt, however, is not purely or entirely an Iroquoian implement. It is not even American Indian, but a universal form of an ungrooved axe common to all peoples who lived in the stone age culture. And when we say stone age we do not mean any precise age in the world's history, for many peoples still live in the stone age, just as many others, now civilized, did ten thousand years ago.

One of the common colloquial names for implements of this class is "skinning stones", although they are sometimes also called "deer skinners" and "fleshers". It is not impossible that an ungrooved axe or adz might have been used for the purpose of peeling off an animal's hide, but I have yet to learn of an historical reference to the fact. On the other hand, these implements have been found in New York State and elsewhere in original hafts, or handles of wood, plainly showing them to have been axes. Nor is it even necessary to examine these specimens almost miraculously preserved by

muck or peat, to determine their use as axes. Explorers have found them in use not only on this continent but in the islands of the Pacific and in other regions where men have not reached civilization.

To cut down a tough grained tree with one of these dull edged stone hatchets is, of course, a well nigh impossible feat. The Indian, however, in common with savage man, universal, knew how to make natural agencies do the work of muscle. He built a fire at the base of a tree and when the flames had eaten into the wood he chopped out the charcoal with the stone hatchet to give the fire a fresh surface and then waited for the flames to make more charcoal. This process repeated soon brought even a large tree to the ground, as I, myself, know by experiment. Modern civilized man scarcely realized the immense utility of fire to his primitive ancestor, nor the extent to which he employed it.

Among the interesting specimens of celts I find several in the collection which clearly show the three processes which they underwent,—the chipping to give form, the picking to reduce uneven masses, and the abrading or polishing process to give polish and remove surfaces not reducable by picking. Some of these rude, unfinished specimens are worth far more than some finished specimens for what they teach of primitive arts.

There is another rare form of the so-called celt which I find represented by one specimen in the Wren collection. It consists of a long slender bar of polished black slate sharpened on either end. The Wren specimen is ten inches in length and elliptical in cross-section. The writer in 1906 proposed the name bar celt¹ for this type of implements, of which a number have been found in various places. They are not common in New York, the State Museum of New York having but four specimens, one of which is broken. Two of these, in perfect condition, I was fortunate enough

¹Parker, A. C. Excavations in an Erie Indian Village and Burial Site, p. 533. N. Y. State Museum, Bulletin 117.

to discover in Chautauqua county, N. Y. One of them came from the grave of an Erie woman in the site excavated under my direction in 1906. It is interesting to note that the Wren specimen was also found in a grave, but not one of a known occupation.² According to information furnished by Mr. Wren, his bar celt was found in 1888 in a grave within about an eighth of a mile of a site known to have been occupied at different times. "In going over village sites some years ago with Mr. O. J. Harvey," writes Mr. Wren, "for use in his history of Wilkes-Barre, I locating them from signs I had actually seen on the ground and he referring to an unpublished diary of Count Zinzendorf, we came to this location. The Indians pointed out this burial place to Zinzendorf and told him they did not know anything about the people buried in it, as the graves were there before their time."

Similar implements have been found in Jefferson county, St. Lawrence county, three at least in Chautauqua county, and one or two in the Seneca lake region in New York State. The fact that the two specimens have been found in graves, one of which is positively Iroquoian and the other probably such, indicates their use by an Iroquoian people. As all of the sites where these grave specimens were found are of an early Iroquoian occupancy, it seems safe to say that they are relics of the culture possessed by the Iroquois when they came east. The northern New York specimens would belong to the prehistoric Mohawks, or more likely the early Onondagas, who had not yet shaken off their original influences. The western New York specimens, no doubt, belonged to the Iroquois who skirted the shores of Lake Erie and who were separated from the Laurentian Iroquois, while the Wyoming Valley specimen probably belonged to the Iroquois, who early held this region. If this is true, we might

²"Shupp's Graveyard" on Boston Hill, Plymouth township, Luzerne county, Pa. See Wren, *Stone Age*, Proc. Wyoming Hist. and Geo. Soc. 1904. p. 108.

look for similar specimens in the Mississippi Valley, where the Iroquois are said to have lived or through which they passed in their long journey for a permanent home in the east. Specimens, indeed, have been found in Tennessee and one is described by General Thruston in his "Antiquities of Tennessee." We may look for them elsewhere and note their occurrence with interest, for they may furnish an interesting clue to the early home of the Iroquois stock.

OTHER IMPLEMENTS OF STONE.

There are several specimens of abrading or sinew, stones in the collections of your Society which are similar to those in New York. These stones are either natural pieces of sandstone, or broken and sometimes complete celts, having grooves deeply worn, first by sharp stones and later by the sinews which were drawn through them to even down the cord or thread. Perhaps awls also were rubbed in the grooves to sharpen their dulled points.

The stone hammers, both massive and pitted, and the net sinkers of the ordinary type in your collections are similar in every way to those found in New York State. The large circular net sinkers, which seem peculiar to the North Branch of the Susquehanna, of course, are not found in New York in the quantities which they are here.

CHIPPED STONE IMPLEMENTS AND HOW THEY WERE MADE.

The most numerous articles in any considerable archeological collection, in our region at least, are those of chipped stone, popularly termed flint implements. Thus we find numerous and varied forms of chipped implements in the collections of this Society. Many of these implements are most worthy of study and description.

To the uninformed a gracefully shaped and delicately chipped Indian arrow head represents the product of a wonderful lost art. It seems almost impossible that the beautiful specimen could have been made by an Indian possessing only rude means of making anything. It is an

erroneous idea, however, to suppose that the American who centuries ago made such an arrow head was untutored or ignorant of the best possible of tools needed for flint chipping. In many instances with the tools which we call rude he produced a finer specimen of stone chipping than could a modern lapidary with all his modern appliances.

Some hard cutting material is a necessary adjunct to the progress of any people, primitive or enlightened. Since primitive man was not acquainted with the use of metal, it is natural that he should utilize stone, which was abundant everywhere. The use of sharp pieces of naturally broken stone probably led him to break stones, and using such pieces for cutting suggested other uses by modifying the form.

Early man in all probability used natural pebbles as throwing weapons, and natural clubs of wood for striking. His use of pieces of wood for thrusting suggested the spear-shaft, and his experience with cutting stones suggested the spear-head, with which he could more easily kill game or provide himself with a weapon of defense or attack. The game killed required a knife for dressing it and sharp tools were necessary for scraping and cutting skins for garments. Cutting tools were also essential in shaping soft stone into pots, for making wooden vessels, for cutting trees, making bone implements and drilling holes. The pressing need of early man for so many things gave rise to the art of stone-chipping.

Although many relics of the ancient American remain in the soil all about us, the ordinary observer passes by unnoticed the pottery fragment, or the bone implement, and picks from the ploughed field or water-washed bank the arrow head which excites his greater admiration.

The first requisite for making a good chipped implement is appropriate material. The stone must be hard and have conchoidal fracture. It must chip at an acute angle to the medial plane of the mass. The less the angle, the more

workable the stone. Flint or chert, quartz, jasper, chalcedony, obsidian, felsite, and argillite are all types of stone having a conchoidal fracture.

To chip properly, the stone should be obtained from a moist place, such as the sea or lake shore, the damp earth, or from veins of rock below the surface exposure.

Large pebbles were used and larger masses quarried and broken into fragments. These fragments, chipped roughly into blank forms or "blades", were carried into camp for completion. Concerning the quarries of the ancient American, Dr. W. H. Holmes, in "Arrows and Arrowmakers", in the "American Anthropologist" for January, 1891, says: "In Arkansas there are pits dug in solid rock—a heavily bedded novaculite—to a depth of twenty-five feet and having a width of a hundred feet or more. In Ohio and other States similar phenomena have been observed. In the District of Columbia extensive quarries were opened in gravel-bearing bluffs, and millions of quartzite and quartz boulders secured and worked. The extent of native quarrying has not until recently been realized. Such work has been considered beyond the capacity of savages; and when ancient pits were observed, they were usually attributed to gold hunters of early days, and in the south are still known as 'Spanish diggings'. From Maine to Oregon, from Alaska to Peru, hills and mountains are scarred with pits and trenches. The ancient methods of quarrying are not known, and up to the present time no tools have been discovered, save rude stone hammers, improvised for the purpose. Picks of bones and pikes of wood were probably used."

Flint Ridge in Ohio and the Fort Erie, Ontario, quarries are fairly well known. I do not find, however, that any mention has been made of the numerous aboriginal "flint" quarries in Pennsylvania, except by Mr. A. F. Berlin in Moorheads "Prehistoric Implements", p. 187. Your Curator of Archeology tells me that there are about 2,000 such quarries alone in Lehigh and Berks counties, Pa. Specimens of

the material from these quarries are to be found in the Wren collection of your Society.

To determine how arrow heads and other chipped implements were made, it is only necessary to watch the process among modern Indians who still remember the art. There are also several good descriptions contained in books by travelers, among them Catlin. The Iroquois generally have forgotten the art and inquiries will bring but meagre information. A few, however, remember the fundamental principles but the majority look upon an arrow or spear head of flint with as much wonder as does the ordinary Yankee farmer.

In the description which follows I have combined previously known facts regarding the chipping of flint-like stones with other facts gleaned from a series of experiments conducted by myself under the direction of Professor F. W. Putnam, in the American Museum of Natural History. These results were embodied in a paper which has never been published. Much of the description which follows later is taken from this paper. In the description of the various processes the reader must understand that where positive statements of methods are made that these methods were those used in experiments and are in accord with methods known to have been used.

The tools used in shaping arrow heads were few and simple, consisting merely of a stone hammer and a flaker. For larger implements a stone anvil, a pad of skins, and a pitching tool, were used in addition. The flaker was one of the most important tools in the process and with it the most delicate work was done.

In making an arrow head the arrow maker chose, for instance, an oval pebble measuring approximately four inches in length, two inches and a half in width and three-quarters of an inch thick. He held the pebble in his left hand, palm downward, the pebble projecting about an inch over his thumb. The hammer was held in his right hand, palm



Fig. 1. Position of the hands in chipping a quartz or flint pebble or flake. Note the grip of the fingers on the pits in the hammer-stone.



Fig. 2. Position of the hands in flaking quartz or flint with a bone or antler flaking tool.

toward the left (see figure 1). He struck a quick, smart blow on the projecting edge of the pebble at the point indicated in the figure. A large chip flew off, starting at the point of percussion, and running on the under side, gradually thinning and widening as it progressed. This operation was repeated all around the stone. Then the chipped pebble was reversed. The chipping having been successful, the portion chipped away on one side of a surface met that on the other side of the same surface, and the edges became sharp. The flaker (figure 2) now came into requisition. It was a piece of deer antler, or, perhaps, of bone, as either would answer, and had a roughened surface. A point near the end of the flaker was pressed against the sharp edge of the stone so that the flaker was indented (see figure 2). The pressure of the flaker was against the stone and upward, while the stone was pressed against it and downward. A quick turn of the wrists inward and downward brought off a chip. In this way the arrow point was given definite outline. That bone or antler should be the chief instrument in flaking stone seems at first strange, and yet it was the most important factor in the process. An antler pitching tool was useful in taking off long flakes.

In the manufacture of a large spear head, the pebble, which is too large to be easily held in the hand, was placed upon the pad of skins which rested upon the stone anvil, the object of this pad being to provide a yielding base; this also was one reason for holding the smaller stone in the hand. The notches in the arrow point were made by making a small chip at the proper place, reversing the blade, and chipping again until the notch was "eaten in". Large stone chips required only the use of the antler or bone flaker to transform them into shapely points. Often many hundred of unfinished chipped blades were made and stored in the earth, afterward being dug up and flaked into any shape that necessity required. A fine cache of forty-eight jasper specimens in your collection was found in Nescopeck

township in the year 1908. It was formerly believed that cache blades were buried for safety only, but it is now understood that they were also placed in the damp earth to absorb and retain the moisture that keeps the stone elastic and easy to flake.

It must not be supposed that the arrow maker was successful in finishing every blade. Often a blow would cause an abrupt fracture or take off too large a chip. This all depended upon the character of the stone and the skill of the operator. Unsuccessful attempts were cast aside and are technically called "rejects". Many hundreds of these may be found on old Indian quarry and camp sites.

The usual chipped implements are the knife, spear point, arrow point, drill, and scraper, each kind of implement varying in size and form. The drill is long and narrow, having rough but sharp edges, generally broad at its base, and was used to perforate soft stone, bone and wood. It was sharpened automatically, for as soon as an edge became dulled the increased resistance caused the material that it was drilling to act as a flaker and compelled a flake to fly off, thereby giving a new edge. The scraper was made from a large chip, flaked so as to be bevelled on one side like a chisel. Many scrapers were made from broken arrow and spear points. It was sometimes fastened to a handle and used to scrape wood, bone, and skin. The different forms of spear heads and knives and arrow points grade into each other, often making it impossible to name the exact use of a particular specimen. Perhaps they were used to a considerable extent interchangeably. Knives were of many forms, the chief characteristics being the finely bevelled sharp cutting edge. Some were made so as to fit into a handle and others to be held in the hand. The spear was much longer than the arrow point and designed to be fastened to a shaft. Spear heads or points were among the most beautiful specimens of the chipper's art. They have

been found in abundance on sites of great antiquity, confirming the theory that the arrow point is more modern than the spear. The arrow point could only be used in conjunction with a throwing stick or with a bow, and there is every reason to believe that the arrow was evolved from the spear.

The arrow head appears in as many varied forms as design and accident could create. It was made from stone, colored by all the hues nature produces—red, pink, yellow, blue, green, black, and white—and often from quartz crystal. Different peoples to a certain extent had different styles and individuals often their own particular “brand”. The arrow head was made for all the varied uses to which a missile of its kind could be put. Special arrows were likely used for large and for small game, for birds, for fish, and for war, but to venture to define these would be simply guesswork. An ingenious device was the bevel head. The cross-section of a bevel head is rhomboidal. For a long time it was thought that this form was but an accident in the method of flaking, but I am told that experiments made at the Smithsonian Institution are said to have shown that the bevel head flies with a rotary motion, so that it not only goes more directly, but on striking an object literally bores a hole into it. This seems to require further investigation, however. The “fishing point” is long, narrow, and slender. It was designed to be shot into the water at the fish. The small points were made from small chippings with a small flaker. War points are thought to have been fastened loosely to the shaft so that they could not be pulled out of the flesh, even though the shaft were withdrawn. Blunt arrow heads, or “bunts”, were used to hit objects without penetrating them. Such bunts were often made of broken points reflaked.

The arrow has ceased to play an important part in hunting or warfare, the bullet having superseded it. The bullet, however, is the evolution of the arrow head, its mission is

the same, and the principle which governs it is the same. Ancient as well as modern man was aware that a small, heavy object, swiftly propelled, could go where a larger one thrown by hand could not go, and that it would do more damage.

From the hand spear to the arrow—after the bow was known—was but a step; then came the cross-bow and bolt; then the rude musket and bullet. The bullet, being heavier and propelled more swiftly, needed no shaft, nevertheless it is but an arrow head in another form.

A SCOTCH SILVER ORNAMENT.

There is in the collection of this Society a simple little ornament of silver which, I dare say, is overlooked by the majority of visitors without a passing thought. It is, nevertheless, a most important specimen, and while it is not even of Indian origin, it is a specimen of a class of ornaments which greatly influenced the Iroquois and other eastern Indians. I refer to the heart and crown brooch in the case of the Col. Zebulon Butler collection. This specimen is the first which it has been my fortune to see in any American collection.* The brooch is plainly of European manufacture and is one of a class of Scotch ornaments or buckles which gave rise to the Iroquois art of silversmithing. For half a century or more among the most interesting specimens of Iroquois ornaments have been their silver brooches. Of a great variety of forms and of several sizes, these brooches or buckles have long attracted the attention of collectors. Though abundant fifty years ago and common twenty years ago, the great activity of collectors has stripped the Iroquois of these relics until few remain, and these are prized heirlooms. That the Iroquois made them is certain. There is no question about this, for several collectors, notably Mrs. H. M. Converse, Mr. M. R. Harrington and myself have collected sets of tools used in their manufacture, and

*This specimen is doubly interesting because it is decorated on either side.

the old silversmiths who sold their rusty chisels and dies demonstrated how the brooches were made. In the set which I was fortunate enough to get were even tin boxes filled with the clippings and filings of the beaten silver coins from which the Iroquois silversmiths cut the brooches.

The origin of the art has puzzled students of Iroquois ethnology and as far as I am able to discover I have been the only one to hit upon a clue and follow it to Scotland. In a paper as yet unpublished I remark:

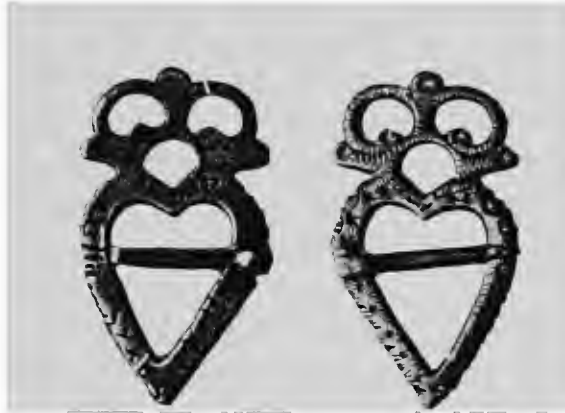
"Iroquois silversmithing and silver work are subjects worthy of the attention of ethnologists. Silver brooches are among the most sought for of the later day products of Iroquois art. Beauchamp, Converse and Harrington have each interesting accounts of the brooches but none of them has indicated how the Iroquois first obtained their knowledge of silver working or have suggested how the patterns of the most common forms were secured. Mrs. Converse wrote: 'I fail to find in illustrations of jewelry ornamentation of either the French, English or Dutch, designs that have been actually followed in the hammered coin brooch of the Iroquois.' Harrington remarks in his excellent paper, the best yet issued on the subject: 'Before concluding, a few words concerning the art of silversmithing among the Iroquois may not be out of place. Of course, such a discussion must necessarily be almost entirely theoretical. Taking the brooches first, it seems possible that we may look for their ultimate origin in the ornaments of copper, mica and other materials, thought to have been sewed or tied upon garments as ornaments by many tribes of the precolonial period. As Beauchamp says, 'Apparently the brooch was the evolution from the gorget for some (early) ornaments of this kind were tied on, not buckled.' He mentions and figures such a crude broochlike ornament of copper found on an Onondaga site of 1677. It is difficult to surmise how the buckle tongue fastening originated, or if borrowed whence it came. Perhaps the idea was in some way derived from

the old-fashioned shoe or belt buckle of the colonists. Examining the patterns, the Masonic type speaks for itself, as being clearly of European origin; but other forms are not so easily traced. The heart type surmounted by an apparent crown looks suspiciously European also; but we cannot prove that the heart, which occurs so often in all kinds of Iroquois carving and bead work, is not a pattern native to the people. The crown-shaped ornament above possibly represents a feathered headdress, or sometimes an owl's head. * * * * *

This paragraph embraces a summary of all that recognized writers have yet said about the origin of the Iroquois silver brooch. Correspondence with the National Museum of Antiquities of Edinburgh brought the information that for many years brooches precisely like the primary types found among the Iroquois had been made in Scotland and were called Luckenbooth brooches, from the Luckenbooths about St. Giles Church, where they were sold. Further research revealed that these brooches were shipped in quantities to America by English and Scotch traders about 1755, and sold and traded to the Indians about the great lakes. Some of them, similar to the one in the collection of this Society, were actually found in a mound in Wisconsin, where they had been buried with the remains of a modern Indian.

The Iroquois, so far as inquiry goes, were the only Indians to actually copy these ornaments and produce them themselves. Reworking a pattern and inventing new designs of their own, they produced brooches by the thousands and traded them in many quarters. The fashion spread widely and the desire for brooches became a passion among the Indians of the east, the height of the craze being about 1850, when there was a rapid decline. The art of making them became extinct shortly after the Civil War.

*Extracted from Parker, A. C. Iroquois Silversmithing. Manuscript in N. Y. State Museum. (See Museum Report, 1908.)



Obverse and reverse of the "Luckenbooth brooch"
from the Ethnological Collection of this Society.



Seneca brooch, presented to the Society by Mr.
Parker, as used in his family for many years.

The greatest change from a stated original type is to be found in the case of the Masonic emblem which the Iroquois copied and recopied until in some brooches the original motive can scarcely be detected. In some cases the square and compasses, with the arc of a circle, and the sun and moon, are represented. From this the Indian designers wrought the arc into the sky-road, made heaven holding pillars of the compass and a council fire from the other parts of the design. Then to completely change the emblem it was worn upside down.

The heart and crown brooch in the collection of this Society, was made, if we are to judge by the data upon it, in 1794, which is about the time during which the Iroquois obtained the greatest quantity from traders. The Iroquois silversmiths seldom put any inscriptions on their brooches, unless a few conventional dots and lines may be construed as hieroglyphs. To put names and dates, as well as rhymes or "posies" on their brooches, was, however, a common custom with the Scotch. The Luckenbooth brooch in the possession of this Society bears the inscription: "Nathl—and Celia Sykes, 1774." Dr. Joseph Anderson, Curator of the Edinburgh Museum, describes another brooch of this same type, on which is inscribed: "Wrong not the [heart] whose joy thou art." The missing word *heart* is supplied by the form of the heart in the brooch. Brooches of this type are used by the Scotch as love and marriage tokens, but the Iroquois thought them to be owls that symbolized watchfulness "when the sun goes under the sky".

The facts which I have just mentioned will place the Iroquois brooches in a new light before ethnologists and for this reason the brooch in your possession becomes of special interest. If there are no specimens in your collections to tell of Iroquoian influence on the ethnology of this region, there is at least a specimen which tells of Scotch influence on the Iroquois.

IROQUOIAN POTTERY VESSELS AND RELATED FORMS.

Among the most important classes of articles in the collections of your society are those of baked clay or pottery. Pottery, broadly speaking, consists of two divisions,—vessels and tobacco pipes. There are other objects of pottery, but for the purposes of this paper it is not necessary to mention them.

Entire pottery vessels are rare in the North Atlantic coast States and those bordering upon them. This is a fact recognized by every authority. It was for this reason that your Secretary, Harrison Wright, in 1883, described those in this Society's cabinet. It remained for Mr. Christopher Wren, however, to describe in detail the pottery of this region. This excellent treatise, which has proven of great use to many students, makes it easier for me to give an estimate of Iroquoian influence.

The products of the ceramic art represent a distinct and substantial advance in the achievements of the people which acquired it. From a collection of vessels and fragments from a given culture one may obtain a knowledge of the ideas of form, symmetry and decoration held by the pot-makers. A perfect knowledge, of course, cannot be obtained, for there seems to have been some fixed principle that governed pot decoration in this region. The plastic sides of the unbaked vessel certainly invited the potters' talent for decoration, but in most cases we find only the markings of a cord-wrapped paddle or smoothing tool on the body of the pot, and conventional lines, dots and scallops on the neck, rim and collar. Except in rare instances life forms do not appear except on Iroquois pots from sites dating between 1590 and 1630. As far as I have been able to discover I believe that no attempt has ever been made to explain the reason for such a custom. I may be criticized but I venture this explanation. To the Iroquois, and to the Algonquins in all probability, the making of a life representation, an effigy or a drawing of any kind, carried with it the

idea that the spirit of the thing would enter the representation and become sensible to good or evil treatment. The soul of the man or the spirit of the animal drawn upon a pot, therefore, would feel the biting of the flames, and feeling the insult straightway bring some dire catastrophe upon the head of the offender. Those unacquainted with Iroquois ideas as they still survive, have little idea how they regard images and mysterious drawings. There is a field for interesting research in this subject. The prevalent theory of forms is that advanced by Frank Cushing, that pot forms are determined by the receptacle which preceded the use or discovery of the use of clay for pottery. The Iroquois pot, according to the theory of Cushing, is influenced in its form by a hypothetical bark vessel which preceded it. As a vessel I do not know where Cushing obtained the data upon which he based the drawing which has so often been copied. The bark basket which he represents is certainly not used by the Iroquois now, nor do I find any record of its use by Iroquois people. A similar form, without the stitched neck, was used by the Algonquins, and specimens of Algonquin bark baskets are in the collections of the New York State Museum. Iroquois baskets of this type were of elm bark and had a rim of hickory sewed on with inner elm or bass wood bark.

The entire pottery vessels from the Susquehanna Valley in the possession of this Society, consists, as might be expected, of two types, the Iroquoian and the Algonquian, with an intermediate form presumably of Algonquin make. The Iroquois form is represented in the Ross pot in your collection. (Figure 5.) This vessel is typical of the Mohawk Valley in New York, although it was found in a rock shelter near the falls of the Wallenpaupack. A related form, the Reynolds pot, is Iroquoian in its form and decoration, but the technique of the design is so unusual that it may have been made by an Algonquin (see figure 6). In the pot illustrated in figure 7 we have the example of an Algonquin pot

in which the potter has endeavored to copy the Iroquois collar and decorations but with poor success. The pot is a fine example of the mixed type and is probably unique.

The pot illustrated in figure 8 is a good example of a purely Algonquin pot from the Susquehanna watershed.* In most respects it is similar to Algonquin pots found elsewhere.

The series which I have mentioned is, perhaps, entirely unique and the Algonquin vessels in your possession without equal in number or interest in any collection. Algonquin pots, like Algonquin skulls, are mostly found in fragments, while Iroquois heads seem lively to-day and Iroquois pots fairly numerous. I, myself, have found more than a hundred entire Iroquois pots, but have helped find only one broken specimen of the Algonquin type from Algonquin territory. In Iroquois territory, however, I have found entire jars that seem Algonquian in form and technique. Possibly they were made by captives.

A TORTOISE RATTLE.

Many objects left by the Indians are most puzzling. To attempt to guess their use may lead to great confusion, while a review of known facts as recorded by historians is apt to be equally confusing, for in most cases historians were not ethnologists and saw little use in noting minute details. Yet we are often compelled to use the data of the careless historian as final evidence. All this merely emphasizes the necessity of studying the critically surviving vestiges of aboriginal cultures. Archeology must be interpreted in the light of ethnology, if ethnology will furnish the particular light which we desire.

*The great mass of potsherds from the Wyoming Valley seem to indicate a longer Algonquin occupation than we generally have recognized. Of the collection of fifteen pots in the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, twelve have been illustrated in Vols. 1 and 2 of the Proceedings of the Society.

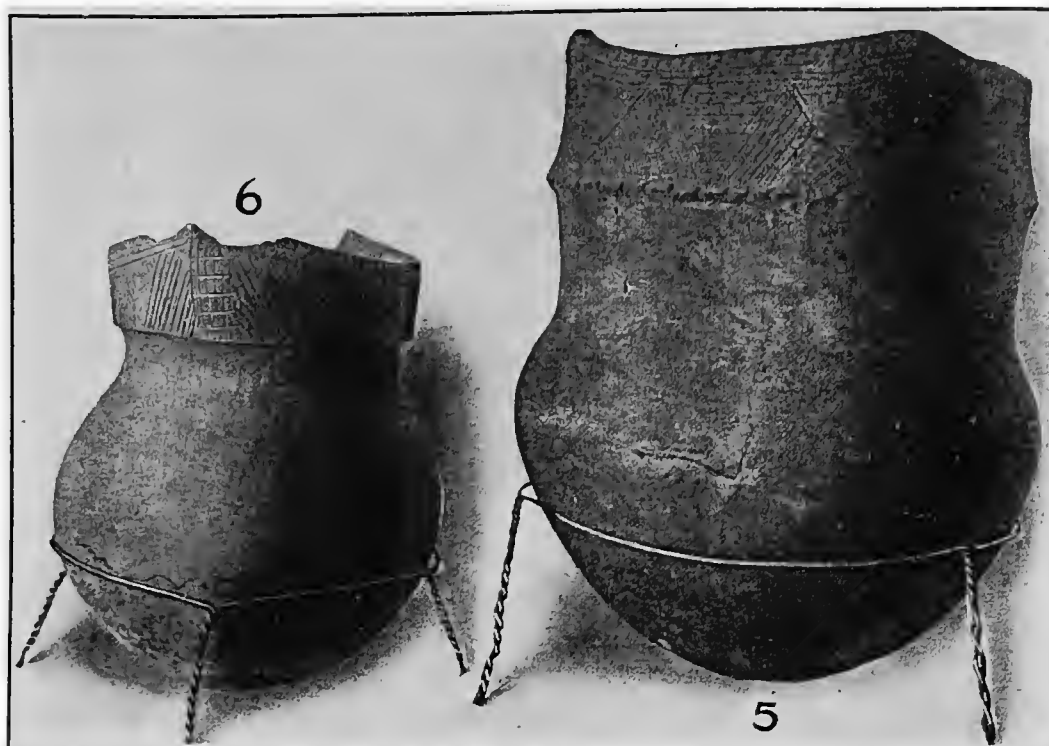


Fig. 5. The Ross Pot. Proceedings of the Society, Vol. 1.
Fig. 6. The Reynolds Pot from North Mountain.

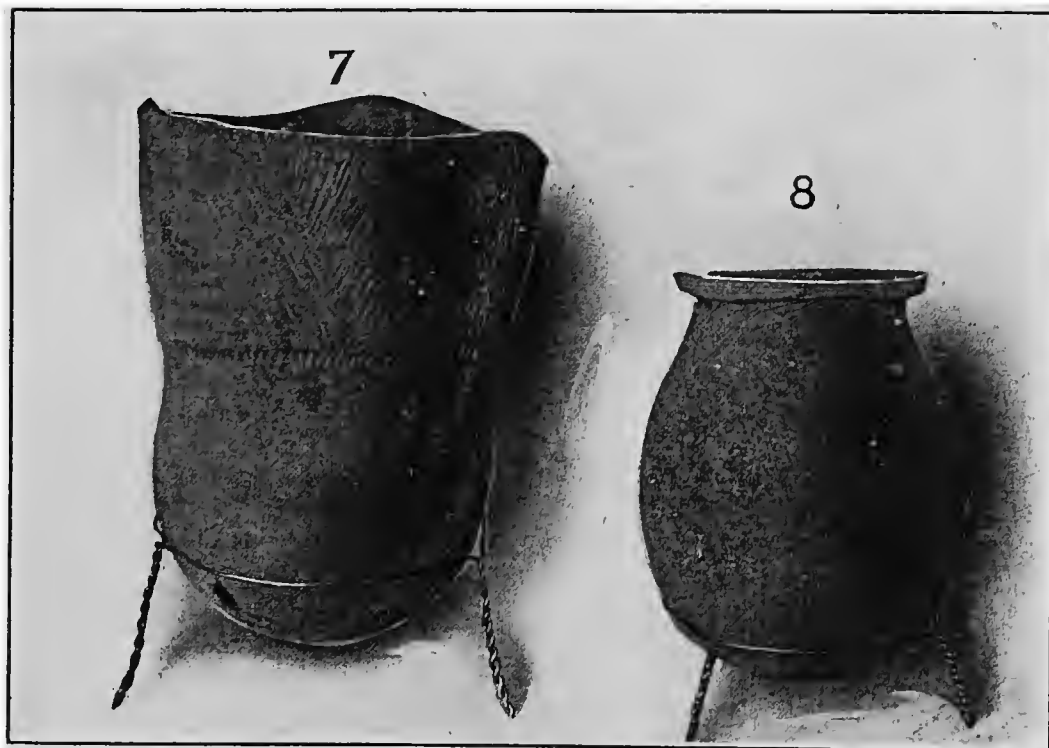


Fig. 7. White Haven Pot.

Fig. 8. Tioga Pot.

One of the puzzling articles to which I refer is a tortoise shell carapace, evidently the remains of a rattle, found in a grave at Athens, Pa. This rattle has been described in papers read before your Society by Dr. Harrison Wright, and by Christopher Wren. The conclusions which Mr. Wren reached regarding it are absolutely the best obtainable from the data available. I am fortunately more or less of an Indian myself and a member of some of the Iroquois folk societies. It is, therefore, of no special credit to my intelligence that I am able to state, with some degree of positiveness, that the rattle in question is not one of a type used in the Great Feather Dance ceremony, but one used, in all probability, by the Tonwi'sas Company, a sisterhood devoted to the propitiation of the spirits of growth and the harvest. You see that Iroquois women had secret societies long ago and have them now. Rattles of this character were used in their ceremonies and only this type of rattles. The rattles used by the Great Feather Dancers was the rattle made from a large snapping turtle, with the neck extended to form a handle, the sternum being painted red. A similar rattle without the painted sternum was and is used by the False Face Company. The publication of these facts, with many others bearing on Iroquois life and ceremony, no doubt will clear many vexing questions. The State Museum of New York will publish such a volume in a few years. A great quantity of manuscript is only awaiting compilation, and annotation to make it ready for the public.

The tortoise rattle, therefore, tells of a unique side of Iroquois influence in the Susquehanna Valley,—that of the Iroquois woman and of her secret sorority, the Tonwi'sas. Like most women's societies, however, after a while it becomes necessary for a man or two to enter. A Tonwi'sas lodge in necessary for a man or two to enter. A Tonwi'sas lodge in one was carried off bodily by the Cherokee and it cost a lot of blood and wampum, not to speak of suffering, to get the women back. Thereafter the sisters had two well qualified

warriors accompany them as escorts. These escorts carry implements of death, however, not tortoise rattles. Anyone may see the annual ceremony of the Tonwi'sas at a mid-winter thanksgiving ceremony of the Senecas. There are several rattles similar to the Athens, Pa., specimen in the State of Museum of New York, which came from Seneca graves in Ontario and Erie counties. These are precisely like the specimens now in use by the members of the Tonwi'sas.

BONE COMBS.

Another bone object of interest from the Athens site is the bone comb described in detail by Mr. Christopher Wren in a paper read before this Society. Its peculiar interest lies in the fact that it is similar to all bone combs found in Iroquois sites before and a little after 1600. Combs of this character have been found on prehistoric sites of the Seneca and also of the Erie as well as on early sites of the Oneida, Onondaga and Mohawk. The Iroquois did not use fine toothed combs, it is interesting to note, until after the coming of the white invaders.

There is in the Christopher Wren collection a bone awl, near three inches long, the only one, I believe, in the collections of your Society. It comes from a grave at Plymouth and is similar in every way to Iroquois and Algonquin awls, and, indeed, similar to the awls of the early Britons or Swiss Lake dwellers, for that matter, for so simple a tool is it that its form would occur to any one needing a sharp, piercing implement of bone. The New York State Museum possesses many hundreds of specimens of bone awls from all portions of the State. The Iroquois used them in great quantities and probably for several purposes. Refuse pits in certain places often contain from one to thirty or more of these awls, some of them beautifully polished. That so many should have been lost by accident seems most improbable. Some custom, or folk-belief, must

have influenced the practise of casting awls and other implements in refuse pits. It was a common custom of the Iroquois to offer as a propitiation to animals which they had killed certain trinkets. These trinkets and other things, such as were offered, were thrown upon a small fire, and a sprinkle of tobacco thrown upon the flames or smouldering coals as the case might have been. In the earlier times, when the Iroquois brought their game to the village, it seems quite probable that they would throw the sacrifice into the fire and refuse pit as an offering. Of course, some might have become lost, but it seems entirely unlikely that the immense quantity of useful objects as are found should have been accidentally overlooked and swept into the pit.

This paper, because of the vastness of the subject, if treated in a detailed way, especially the historical end of the subject, has been prepared largely to suggest what may be done in the future. It is impossible, manifestly, to treat the archeological end of the subject completely in a comparative way since but few excavations have been made, and, therefore, since so much remains to be developed. On the other hand, an historical treatment would be entirely superfluous. One of your members, O. J. Harvey, Esq., has already published so detailed an account of the Indian history of this region and other regions connected with it that his work must forever remain a classic. It has only been possible, therefore, to suggest a plan for work, to recognize the field and to study a few of the specimens which seemed of special interest as a basis for comparison with the Iroquois artifacts found in New York State.

The Iroquois themselves never occupied this valley in the sense of having lived here in settled towns. They controlled it for about a hundred years, and so greatly did they impress themselves upon its history that they will always have a place in it.

To the Iroquois the Wyoming Valley was the asylum of conquered and dependent tribes, the mixing bowl of many

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